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# BI-WEEKLY PROPAGANDA GUIDANCE

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Central Propaganda Directive  
Briefly Noted

- 613ae. Communists and the Common Market - The  
WFTU Meeting in Leipzig on the EEC
- 614d. The CPSU Line is Hardening Again:  
Khrushchev Limits Artistic Freedom Once  
More
- 615WHa 1963: Cuba's "Year of Organization"
- 616. Nationalist Collaboration With Communists

## ATTACHMENT:

(614d.) Yevtushenko Discusses Art in Havana  
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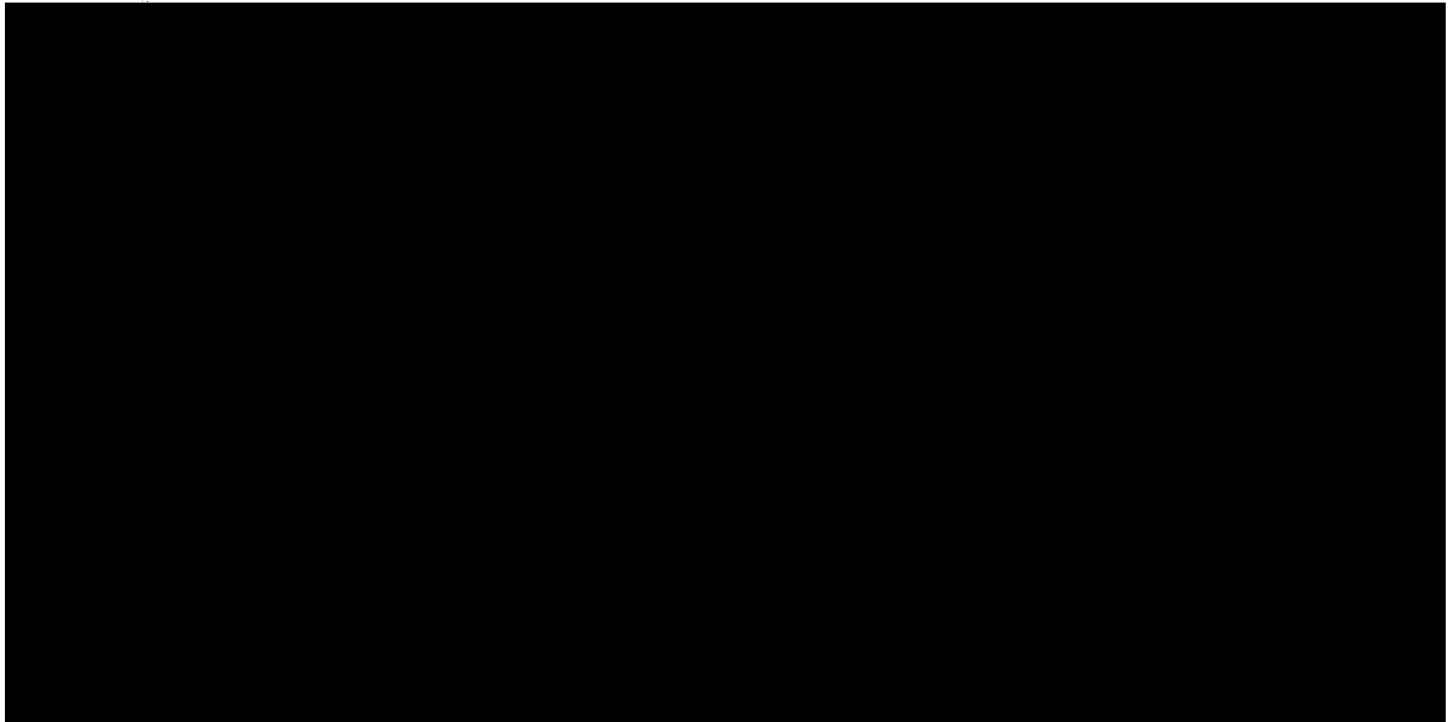
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Briefly Noted

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Mariner II Passes Venus, Achieves Space "First"

On 14 December, right on schedule, the American spacecraft Mariner II passed Venus at a distance of 21,594 miles, the first occasion on which a man-made space ship had transmitted data on one of the planets. (Both Soviet and US spacecraft had previously reported data on the moon; however, the moon is not a planet but an earth satellite and is much nearer to the earth than any of the planets ever are.) Commands were sent from earth to Mariner II and signals were received back, all over a distance of 36 million miles. Now the scientists are busy analysing the data received; preliminary results include the following:

1. No rise occurred in magnetometer measurements as Mariner II passed Venus. This means that the magnetic field of the planet, if it has a dipolar field like that of the earth, has less than five to ten per cent of the force of the earth's magnetic field. There may even be no magnetic field on Venus.

2. New, more extensive measurements were made of streams of hot ionized gas blowing out from the sun through space; this gas is called solar plasma or "solar wind," and produces magnetic storms. Other probes had reported on solar plasma over brief periods, but Mariner II was the first to observe it over a long time, far from any planet, and in sufficient detail to reveal its structure.

3. There appear to be no radiation belts (comparable to the Van Allen belts around the earth) surrounding Venus.

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4. During Mariner II's travel in space remote from any planet, no significant variation in the intensity of cosmic rays was recorded.

5. Scientists have been able to make a new and more exact calculation of the mass of Venus; they now state that Venus has a mass 0.81485 times that of the earth, with a probable error of 0.015 per cent.

Examination of the Mariner II data is still continuing. It is hoped that later the scientists will have some information on the fascinating question of whether life exists on Venus. Our assets should give all feasible publicity to the scientific significance of Mariner II and other elements in the American space program. [REDACTED] 25X1C10b

#### Disarmament and Peace Conference Rejects WPC.

A newly-formed International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace convened at Oxford University from 4 to 7 January, with delegates from 17 nations, including the United States, Canada, several European countries, India, New Zealand and Australia.

Eleven World Peace Council (WPC) representatives, including Soviet writer Ilya Ehrenburg, had come to London to attend the conference, to which, according to Ehrenburg, they had been invited.

However, on January 5, the Oxford Conference delegates agreed to bar Ehrenburg and his fellow-WPC delegates from attending. The Conference, convoked by the European Federation against Nuclear Arms and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), denied attendance to the WPC representatives because the WPC is committed to one of the nuclear blocs, i.e. the Soviet bloc. Professor Ritchie Calder explained that the new Confederation is not an anti-Communist organization but an uncommitted one. He further stated that it is not the intention of the Confederation to set up an opposition group to the WPC, but certain supporting elements felt it would be very embarrassing if it were even suggested that the WPC was actively involved in the creation of the new body. There were indications that the new group would meet with the WPC in London after the closing of the Conference. (Check Press Comment for possible subsequent developments)

In the meantime, WPC president J.D. Bernal released a statement regretting the new confederation's decision and "reaffirmed" the WPC's desire to pursue its efforts to promote cooperation among "all who support peace."

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6134e. Communists and the Common Market - The WFTU Meeting in Leipzig  
on the EEC

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Background: A World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) consultative conference on the Common Market was finally convened in Leipzig, East Germany, on 14 December, 1962. Originally scheduled for 31 October, it had hurriedly been called off, even though many of the delegations had reached Leipzig. No official reason was given for the postponement, but it is a fair assumption that the CPSU did not want additional problems over the sudden Cuban crisis for which negotiations were at a most delicate stage and no firm propaganda line had been adopted.

The Communist line on the Common Market has been most ambivalent, although prior to August, 1962, under the leadership of the CPSU nearly all Communist Parties were taking the hard line of opposition. However, by November-December, 1961, following the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, it became apparent that at least one Western European Communist Party was unhappy over Moscow's dictated position which did not jibe with the necessities of its own local political situation. The Italian Communist Party (PCI) became outspoken in its protests, claiming that the domestic Italian situation demanded a more flexible position (See Bi-Weekly Guidance #81 Item 469, 18 December 1961, "The 22nd CPSU Congress: Effect on the Italian Communist Party"). Subsequently, at the WFTU Congress in Moscow in December 1961, where resolutions were proposed condemning the Common Market as a further attempt to enslave the working man, the Italian delegation, under the leadership of Novella, President of WFTU and Secretary-General of CGIL, the largest trade union coalition in Italy and long Communist dominated, spoke out in opposition, proposing 28 amendments softening the proposed line. Novella pointed out that the benefits of the Common Market to labor in Italy was forcing the CGIL to modify its opposition in order to retain its political hold on Italian labor. Notwithstanding some support from the Polish delegation, the Italians were sharply rebuked and Novella, for this among other factors, was replaced as WFTU President.

In spite of the firm line maintained by the CPSU throughout the spring and early summer of 1962, there were growing indications of differences of opinion amongst Communists in Western Europe, as well as in Poland and Czechoslovakia. In France, in Belgium, and in the Netherlands, where the working man was increasingly benefited by the growing prosperity produced by the Common Market, there was increasing support for the Togliatti-Amendola-Novella doctrine of "polycentrism" - that is, that each Communist Party must have latitude to deal in its own way with domestic problems and issues.

Then, in August 1962, Khrushchev himself published (in the World Marxist Review) a long article on the Common Market and on economic integration in general, taking a much more favorable view than heretofore of developments within the EEC and pointing out that the Communists could learn much from modern capitalist economic integration (See Press Comment for 5 December 1962, for text of the article). In late August

(August 27 - September 3), the CPSU called a meeting in Moscow again to discuss the Common Market. Following the new Khrushchev line, the Moscow meeting showed a marked leaning toward the Italian position.

In mid-September, in preparation for the Tenth Congress of the Italian Communist Party, l'Unita, the leading Italian Communist paper, published the "Theses" (i.e., the platform) for the forthcoming Congress. The "Theses", subsequently developed and discussed by Secretary-General Togliatti for the PCI in his opening address to the Congress, went even further than any previous Italian Communist position in arguing that the only way for Communists to combat Western European capitalism was to play their own game. The PCI argued that it could not survive without holding and expanding local political power and that, in order to do this, it must support local social reform programs and must take advantage of the Common Market. It further argued that it must use genuinely democratic parliamentary methods to gain ascendancy over its centrist and socialist opponents.

The December Leipzig WFTU meeting followed much the same pattern of conflict. Louis Saillant, the French Communist Secretary General of WFTU, opened the meeting with a sharp denunciation of the Common Market, thus taking the old hard-line position. The Italians promptly reasserted their own views, charging Saillant with taking a sterile negative position and arguing that European trade unions should support economic integration, such as the Common Market, while attacking only what they considered monopolistic features that discriminated against the worker. The Poles and the Czechs tended to support the Italians, while the majority of the delegates followed the Saillant line. Communist reports of the WFTU meeting available to date omit any mention of the Italian protests. As usual, the Chinese and Albanian delegations took the hard, anti-EEC line, in clear opposition of the CPSU and CIGL position.

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14 January 1963

614 d. The CPSU Line is Hardening Again: Khrushchev Limits Artistic  
25X1C10b Freedom Once More

Background: In November 1962, the Soviet magazine Novy Mir (New World) published a short novel, ONE DAY OF IVAN DENISOVICH, describing conditions in Stalin's labor camps. /Excerpt appears in Press Comment, 10 December 1962. The whole novel is being published by F.A. Praeger, New York. This story, by A. Solzhenitsyn, was the first description of conditions in the camps to be published in the Soviet Union, and indeed represented the first recognition by the Soviet "establishment" that ordinary Soviet citizens, as opposed to CPSU members, had suffered injustice under Stalin. Compared with books on the camps published in the West, ONE DAY was not particularly distinguished, either as literature or as revelation. It represented Ivan Denisovich as finding solace in his work, and it gave no indication of the total number of inmates (an estimated 12 to 15 million during World War II). Nevertheless, the publication of the story caused a sensation, and copies were eagerly bought up from the newsstands.

Another literary event has attracted almost as much attention as the publication of ONE DAY OF IVAN DENISOVICH; this was the printing, on 21 October in Pravda, of Yevgeny Yevtushenko's poem, "Stalin's Heirs." Yevtushenko expressed fear lest Stalin rise from the dead, and suggested that his spirit lived on in his heirs:

/Extract: for full text see Press Comment, 1 November 1962

We rooted him  
out of the Mausoleum.  
But how to root Stalin out of Stalin's heirs?!  
Some of the heirs snip roses in retirement  
and secretly consider  
the retirement temporary.  
Others  
even condemn Stalin from the platform,  
But themselves  
at night  
pine for the old days.  
Evidently not for nothing do Stalin's heirs today  
suffer heart attacks.  
They, once his lieutenants,  
do not like these times  
When the camps are empty  
And the halls where people listen to poetry  
Are crowded.

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Molotov and Kozlov have reportedly had heart attacks; Molotov, Kaganovich, and Zhukov are supposedly retired; all of the current leaders, led by Khrushchev, have condemned Stalin from the platform. Yevtushenko was already famous for his poem "Babi Yar," which referred to the Nazi mass murder of 40,000 to 70,000 Jews near Kiev, and implicitly criticized anti-semitism still existing in the Soviet Union; the poet is also well-known for his readings in Mayakovski Square, and for recent visits to England (Spring 1962), Helsinki (July-August 1962), and Cuba (September-December 1962). Khrushchev evidently did not take amiss Yevtushenko's reference to those who denounce Stalin from the platform; indeed, Khrushchev is said to have told the Central Committee, in his still-unpublished speech of 23 November, that he had personally approved the publication of "Stalin's Heirs" and ONE DAY OF IVAN DENISOVICH. Other poets and writers have been encouraged to raise their voices against the dead Stalin, but all these stories and poems are careful, while criticizing the cult of personality, to avoid any criticism of the Party or of the war effort. The "victims of Stalin" who are described are no opponents of Stalin's regime; they are people who for some trivial or irrational reason (in one case, the accidental knocking-over of a bust of Stalin) fall victims of the machinery.

To many Soviet writers and artists, however, freedom of creative expression--not just freedom to make posthumous attacks on Stalin--is the goal. Many have hoped that the new permission to attack old abuses might lead to a general permissiveness, to cultural freedom. This was not to be. On 1 December, Khrushchev and other leaders visited an exhibition of the work of Moscow artists, sponsored by the Moscow branch of the Union of Artists. This exhibition included some works, such as one entitled "Breakfast," which were not inspirational. Even worse, there was a private showing of some abstract paintings. According to rumor, conservative cultural bureaucrats deliberately arranged for Khrushchev to see these pictures, correctly anticipating a hostile reaction. Khrushchev questioned the artists; "In reply (according to Tass) there was only heard incoherent talk which bespoke of the spiritual paucity of the authors of these opuses." Like Khrushchev himself before Stalin, the fear-stricken artists were tongue-tied. The Soviet leader commented that one could not tell whether some of these works had been painted by men or "by the tail of a donkey." As Mark Frankland remarked in the London Observer, "Unfortunately for the painters, no one has yet shown that it is possible to paint an anti-Stalinist abstract picture."

Khrushchev's reaction was duly published by Tass, and the CPSU began the re-imposition of totalitarian control. On 3 December, Pravda printed an editorial, entitled "Art Belongs to the People," which condemned jazz as well as abstract art. On 4 December, the President of the Soviet Academy of Arts, Boris Ioganson, was replaced by Vladimir Aleksandrovich Serov, who paints revolutionary scenes in the style of German painting of the Bismarck period, and who promised to fight more actively for socialist culture. On 17 December, Leonid Ilichev and Khrushchev met with a group of writers and artists and laid down the law. Commenting on this meeting, the new editor of Literaturnaya Gazeta (Literary Gazette), Aleksandr Chakovskiy, wrote in Izvestiya on 27 December that the abstract artists had pursued a false, anarchic freedom, and that true freedom was "freedom of labor and creation for the sake of the people's welfare."

Khrushchev's speech on 17 December has not as yet been published, but Ilichev's has been, and it represents an authoritative statement of the CPSU's position. This speech stated that the "Soviet people" had found "profound satisfaction" in Khrushchev's criticisms at the Moscow exhibition, and Ilichev also took pains to maintain that "new, young, creative energies" were following the correct line, and that "our creative intelligentsia is a reliable aide of the Party in the Communist transformation of the world, in the education of the workers." But, Ilichev continued, striking his main theme, it is precisely because of the importance of the arts for the advance of communism "that any deviation from the main line of our literature and art cannot be tolerated." Art, he said, "always has an ideological-political orientation" and "in some way expresses and defends the interests of definite classes and social strata." Actually, Ilichev also stated that formalist and abstract art was removed from life, and it might be supposed that this would render it at least innocuous. But the ideological expert argued that the works of an artist following alien models, however good the artist's intentions might be, "objectively.... serve the interests of hostile forces." People who talked of "creative freedom," who opposed "party leadership in art," were asserting "an anarchistic concept of freedom." "We have complete freedom to fight for communism; we do not have and cannot have freedom to fight against communism." Party control of art (Ilichev maintained) should not be confused with the cult of the personality: "while courageously unmasking all that hinders us, we should not hit out against Soviet society itself... If we, under the guise of criticism of the consequences of the personality cult, hit at our society, our ideology, we will not create the great art of communism but we will lose everything we have acquired." Thus, as in every despotism, criticism is essential--of the enemies of the regime.

That Khrushchev should have the artistic taste of George F. Babbitt and the artistic aims of Joseph Goebbels comes as no surprise. What is more striking is the resistance which artists are offering to the reimposition of Party control. Ilichev's own speech was somewhat defensive in tone, and he noted in it that artists had written letters to Khrushchev, begging that there be no return to one artistic style (as under Stalin), that there be "peaceful coexistence" among styles. Ilichev maintained that socialist realism allowed for "the creative cooperation of divergent artists," for instance, between "partisans of the generalized romantic and partisans of the strictly analytical," provided they gave "a true portrayal of life," i.e., a portrayal supporting Communist ideology. But the artists do not see why art must serve a propaganda purpose, like Serov's slick tableaux. On 3 December, a Moscow University art professor openly criticized Pravda's condemnation of modernistic tendencies, and a movie director denounced the "despicable provocation" staged at the Moscow exhibition, and said that creative artists could make no real progress until the artistic hacks and sycophants who blocked creativity were removed. Ilya Ehrenburg and a younger writer, Yuri Nagibin, have been denounced for defending artistic freedom.

The Soviet artistic and literary world feels great frustration in face of the official condemnation of developments which were pioneered by Russian (i.e. Kandinskiy, Chagall, Pevsner) as well as western talent more than 50 years ago; one of the greatest exponents of the modern movement in painting has been the French-Spanish Communist, Pablo Picasso. On the other hand, the regime faces a dilemma. Outright

repression, of the Zhdanov-Stalin variety, would be politically inexpedient, and would alienate key sectors of the Soviet youth and intelligentsia. Without such repression, the artists, writers, and composers will continue their creative activity, largely supported by the key sectors just mentioned; it is said that Soviet scientists, in particular, have provided a private market for Soviet modern art. Khrushchev, in his anti-Stalin activity, has encouraged currents which are beyond his power to control.

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Background: As he began the fifth year of his regime, Fidel Castro looked like a tired man surrounded by disarray and confusion, saying, "This year we got to get organized!" Indeed, the only positive theme in his lengthy 2 January speech observing the fourth anniversary of his takeover in Cuba--his first major speech in two months--was to announce that 1963 in Cuba "will be the year of organization." In effect, Castro spelled out the shortcomings of his rule in a backhanded admission of domestic strains, namely, increasing loss of popular support, of friction among his political leaders, and of failures of his administrative and economic programs to meet basic goals.

In short, as the fourth year of Cuba's regime came to a close it was so clear to all that things had gone from bad to worse that Castro's only claim of accomplishment was extracting an "indemnity" payment from the US in exchange for releasing over 1,000 Cubans from his prisons. His cynical barter of human beings for urgently needed medical supplies and foodstuffs actually represents but another admission of the shortages under his rule.

Against the backdrop of nationalization of privately-owned clothing, textile, shoe and hardware businesses, Cuba's minister of interior commerce, Manuel Luzardo, promised in an interview with the Havana paper Revolucion on 11 December that Cubans could use their ration books to buy extra items for the Christmas holidays. "There will not be the great quantity we wish," Luzardo admitted, but added hopefully, "there will be enough for all."

But post-Christmas refugees from Cuba said "essential foodstuffs and clothing are in short supply." They especially cited the lack of food and shoes. "The government promised we'd get shoes when they nationalized the stores," one complained, "but the shelves were still empty when I got out."

These reports are symptomatic of the basic problems facing Cuba as the fifth year of its present regime begins. Production has dropped and is inadequate; shortages are growing. The entire economy is deteriorating. These problems are accentuated by continued stress on military machinery, militia, and parades at the further expense of domestic production and consumer needs.

To cite a few of the problem areas:

Agriculture. In spite of the fertile land and ideal growing conditions, agricultural production has dropped steadily. Some estimates indicate that the 1963 sugar crop--Cuba's most important product--will be 30 per cent less than 1962 which was already considerably below pre-1959 levels. In 1958, Cuba was one of Latin America's best fed nations with a per capita caloric intake of 2,870--well above the 2,500 deemed necessary to maintain good health. While current figures are not available, rationing of basic foods began early in 1962 and conservative estimates are that the average Cuban's caloric intake has declined at least

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20 per cent in the last two years. While the food shortage can be attributed to a variety of causes, high among them are the government mismanagement of agriculture, lack of enthusiasm among the labor force and the growing imbalance between exports and imports--an area where aid from the Soviet Union has not met the people's needs.

Industry. Deterioration in industrial production is most noticeable in the field of consumer goods--a deterioration in quality as well as quantity. Skilled workers have left and replacement parts for the machinery--mostly of US manufacture--are not available; workers are mobilized for militia duty and farmhands have moved to the factories in increasing numbers leaving plants attended by inexperienced workers, if at all. Trade problems restrict the availability of raw materials and equipment. The net result has been a steady decline--far below the grandiose goals proclaimed by Cuba's leaders.

Labor. A steady flow of departures--mostly of skilled workers and professionals including those with managerial skills--has created an imbalance in the labor force that 20-day training courses have not been able to replace. Sugar workers looked upon the revolution as an emancipation proclamation from the drudgery of hard farm labor and have abandoned the farms. Cuban officials estimated in December they had to recruit 95,000 workers to harvest the sugar crop. Even the Communist organ Hoy admitted last year that rallies, parades, meetings and the like interfered with production. In hopes of meeting these deficiencies the regime ordered a tighter rein on workers. Based upon discarded-Soviet models to increase discipline and state control, the measures include government direction of labor, "emulation" campaigns which pit worker against worker, wage controls, penalties for minor infractions of rules or absenteeism, "norms" and "quotas" which mean wage cuts if government-imposed standards are not met, etc. In conjunction with the fourth anniversary celebration, a nationwide "scholastic test" was to be given to all workers. The test was billed as a means of finding out what the workers don't know so these voids could be filled by education programs. But such reasoning can only thinly veil the "control" elements of such a nationwide examination thereby revealing another shortcoming which Cuba's leaders hope to meet by proclaiming 1963 a "year of organization."

Trade. The three fields cited above have a direct bearing on Cuba's trade position. The sugar crop is Cuba's biggest barter item with the Communist world, even though the latter pays less than the premium rates which the US pays for sugar. Falling production in sugar means Cuba can't even meet its reduced quotas, much less have any left over to sell to other nations in hopes of acquiring needed dollar income. Prior to the show-down over Soviet missiles in Cuba, the island was already feeling the effects of embargoes and declining maritime traffic. These effects have been accentuated as additional nations have restricted trade with Cuba. Free-world shipping to Cuba has dropped to one fourth of the level of a year ago.

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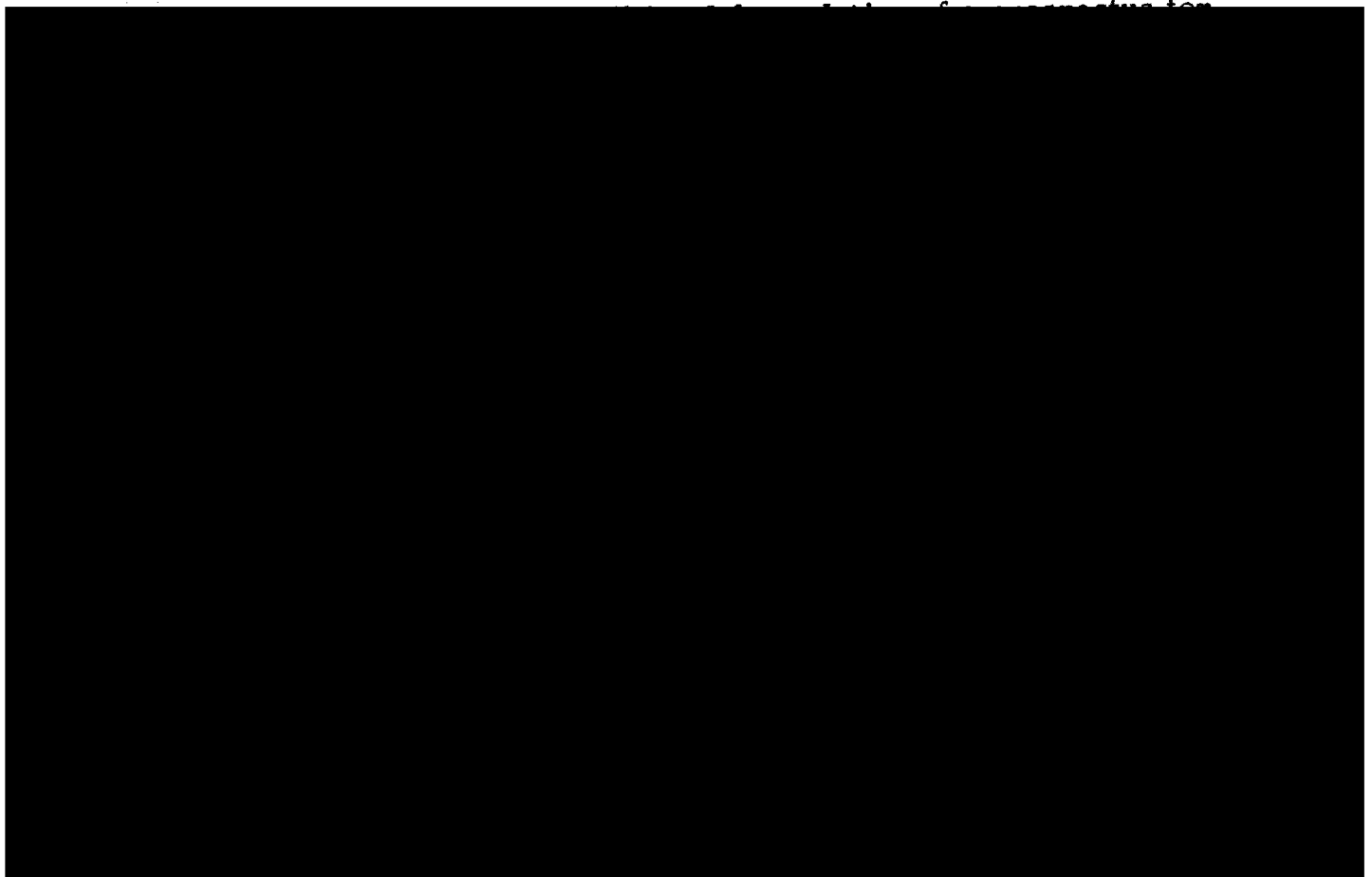
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The Cuban trade delegation in Moscow at the end of 1962 claimed agreement was reached on "basic" issues of the 1963 trade pact, but its communique stipulates an unspecified "broadening" rather than any increase in trade.

Popular support. The 1963 plan to "organize the masses" reveals the need to establish additional controls to cope with mounting dissatisfaction among the people. Recent speeches of Cuban leaders acknowledge sabotage, lack of motivation among workers, and other signs of unrest. There is a growing awareness of the adverse effect of continued consumer shortages on the morale of the people. In addition, the Soviet's unilateral decision to withdraw its missiles and to reach at least a temporary agreement with the US left Castro in an exposed position vis-a-vis his people. The ill-will these developments generated is reverberating inside the political leadership, too, as the "old guard" Communists and "new" Communists clash. Whether Castro's anniversary speech plea for "unity" and "solidarity" and his call for "organization of the live party of socialist revolution" can quell the friction is questionable. Revolution, generally credited as being a "mouthpiece" for Castro in Havana, printed the full text of a Chinese Communist People's Daily editorial which took some direct swings at Soviet Russia. The text and summaries of it appeared in other Cuban papers too, but some of these affected a sense of balance by also using portions of a Khrushchev speech which, in effect, slapped the Chinese Communists on the wrist for their views - Revolution used only the anti-Soviet text.

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25X1C106 616. Nationalist Collaboration With Communists

**Background:** Events of last year, especially in Cuba, illustrate the inevitable results of collaborating with Communists, either internationally or domestically. The ultimate consequences of such actions have been seen previously, for example in North Vietnam; and the cost of such collaborating is clearly observable in other countries, such as Indonesia. In all of these cases, as well as in many others where the collaboration has not been as intensive or prolonged, examination exposes the sharp contrast between Communist promises to nationalists and what really happens when nationalists collaborate with Communists.

**Communist Promises to Nationalists.** The promises made by Communists to nationalists today, though more elaborate and many-faceted, are similar to those made by the CPSU to the ethnic and religious nationalists in Russia during the formative years of the USSR. Promises of self-determination, of national sovereignty and independence, were all broken later; national institutions and cultures were destroyed; and minority nationalities were incorporated into the Soviet Union by force. Communist praises of nationalism and promises to support nationalists in achieving their goals ring constantly through the pages of history; but current reiterations of the same hypocritically stated beliefs and intentions are even more numerous. These are made by the Communist Bloc or indigenous Communist Parties in every developing country and in every country where nationalist forces are on the move.

The nature of specific Communist promises to nationalists of particular countries is reflected in the general statements of major international Communist Party documents. [In the quotations which follow, those taken from the Statement Issued in the Name of 81-Communist Parties meeting in Moscow in November 1960 are designated (1); those from the Program of the 22nd CPSU Congress are designated (2).] One type of statement relates to Communist support of national interests and of national liberation wars, as follows:

"The Communists' aims are in keeping with the supreme interests of the nation." (2)

"Communists have always recognized the progressive, revolutionary significance of national-liberation wars; they are the most active champions of national independence." (1)

"The working-class movement in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement in the colonies and dependencies will achieve new victories." (1)

What the Communists also say in their own documents, but not in their propaganda to non-Communist countries (or at least not in words clearly understood), cuts through some of their semantics, clarifies their true position with regard to nationalism, and specifies their tactics in national liberation movements. A few quotations indicating their position are as follows:

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"Manifestations of nationalism and national narrow-mindedness do not disappear automatically with the establishment of the socialist system." (1)

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"It is also essential to peace and social progress that the national and international unity [read proletarian] of all the other mass democratic movements be restored. Unity among the mass organizations [read Communist Fronts] may be achieved through joint action in the struggle for peace, national independence, the preservation and extension of democratic [read Communist] rights, the improvement of living conditions and the extension of the working people's social rights." (1)

Even more explicitly:

"A resolute defense of the unity of the world Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and the prevention of any actions which may undermine that unity, are a necessary condition for victory in the struggle for national independence, democracy and peace, for the successful accomplishment of the tasks of the Socialist revolution and of the building of socialism and communism. Violation of these principles would impair the forces of communism." (1)

What the Communists really think of nationalism is revealed in the following passage:

"...Marxists-Leninists draw a distinction between the nationalism of the oppressed nations and that of the oppressor nations. The nationalism of an oppressed nation contains a general democratic element directed against oppression, and Communists support it because they consider it historically justified at a given stage." (2)

Communists specify what elements in nationalism they will support and in what direction, as well as determining at what point they will divert their full support to proletarian internationalism and absorption of nations into the Communist world.

Another type of statement, which is particularized in individual developing countries, indicates the areas in which Communists promise great and speedy economic and political achievements. One such general and comprehensive statement is as follows:

"The urgent tasks of national rebirth . . . on the basis of which the progressive forces of the nation can and do unite . . . are: the consolidation of political independence, the carrying out of agrarian reforms in the interest of the peasantry, elimination of the survivals of feudalism, the uprooting of imperialist economic domination, the restriction of foreign monopolies and their expulsion from the national economy, the creation and development of a national industry, improvement of the living standard, the democratization of social life, the pursuance of an independent and peaceful foreign policy, and the development of economic and cultural cooperation with the social and other friendly countries." (1)

[A similar statement appears in (2)]

Consequences of Nationalist Collaboration with Communists. Many nationalists have accepted Communist aid and collaboration believing Communist pretensions that they would honor national sovereignty on the one hand, and Communist claims on the other that any sort of relationship with free western countries was but a continuation of the worst kind of colonialist imperialism leading only to a new kind of dependence and exploitation.

Cuba and North Vietnam both lost their independence completely to the Communist Bloc. In North Vietnam two movements developed in the late 1920's and early 1930's--the native Communist and the nationalist--to free their country from foreign domination. Over a long period of years the two movements joined in uneasy alliances for what seemed a common goal. Even though the Viet Minh revealed itself progressively as a totalitarian Communist movement and the "Democratic Republic of Vietnam" developed quickly into a "people's democracy", Communist style, the coalition was maintained during the protracted hostilities against the French, 1946-1954. The facade of national democracy was not relinquished by the Communists, who still needed the cooperation of the nationalist groups, until two years after the Geneva accords, in 1956. The nationalists at that time lost all remaining influence in the country, and thus all the goals and aspirations for which they had fought; the Viet Minh insured the complete subservience of the country to the International Communist Bloc.

The aspect of the well known Cuban story which needs stressing in this context is that Castro's original successful appeal was to nationalists and nationalism. He himself has admitted that he could not have gained the necessary popular and leadership support if he had made any other appeal. Successive steps of nationalist collaboration with the Communists provide evidence of the inevitable end of extensive collaboration. The Cuban story also illustrates the meaning of "national liberation wars" offered by Communists to all developing countries. The 81-Communist Party meeting said in November 1961:

"National-liberation revolutions have triumphed in vast areas of the world. About forty new sovereign states have arisen in Asia and Africa in the fifteen post-war years. The Cuban revolution has powerfully stimulated the struggle of the Latin-American peoples for complete national independence."  
(underlining ours)

Complete "national liberation" thus means an end to true national independence, an end to free economic and political institutions, and adoption of proletarian internationalism--the name for satellite status in the Communist Bloc.

The Chicom invasion of India was not in itself the result of collaboration, but the shock and the severe setbacks suffered by India were largely due to the stubborn delusions of Indian nationalism (i. e. cooperating with the Communist powers in many international questions especially under the influence of Khrishna Menon). At the same time, the frustrations of Indian nationalism were conveniently diverted against Western-oriented Pakistan and the cream of India's army concentrated on the Pakistani border, thus facilitating the Chicom invasion.

The Congo affords still another and different example. The new government of Communist-nurtured Patrice Lumumba had scarcely been seated before  
violence erupted, and the new government was overthrown.

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installations, providing technical aid and encouraging national programs which increased the rising expectations of extreme nationalists. General Mobutu soon discovered arms in Soviet and Satellite Embassies, and the government of Ileo promptly expelled Communist officials and closed their establishments. After Lumumba's demise, the Communist Bloc supported his successor Antoine Gizenga. Finding him less adept and not able to maintain popular support among the extreme nationalists, Communist support (overt at least) was withdrawn. Flagrant and open political and military collaboration by Congolese and their extreme nationalist followers with a foreign Communist power was, for the time being, ended by timely action of the Adoula government. It was the very open and audacious nature of the Communist collaboration which led to its elimination. The problems in the Congo are expected to continue for some time and Communist attempts to attract nationalists may also continue.

The Soviet Embassy has been reestablished in Leopoldville, and the ambassador, Sergei Nemtchina has been most assiduous in reestablishing relations with the Congolese.

Many emerging nations have experienced serious problems in their economic relations with Communist countries. Barter deals have forced them to exchange at less than the going market price and to limit their selection of needed goods, which often are of poorer quality than those obtainable elsewhere. Disposal of surplus goods in barter deals has often turned into a temporary relief; their Communist partners have used these same goods to underbid them with their own customers, taking a regular market paying a regular price away from them. Emerging countries have also discovered that after a few years of accepting trade grants they are in debt to Communist countries and are forced to direct ever increasing portions of their import and export trade to the Bloc, thus losing the flexibility necessary to improving their own economies. As a consequence, they also discover that they must widen other areas of political and cultural collaboration lest they offend the "friends" on whom they are economically dependent.

Similarly in the field of Communist aid many developing countries have discovered that things look different in hindsight. Agreements for extensive aid and plans for construction not infrequently end in prolonged negotiations to obtain the actual grants and in expenditures that do not benefit the economy, e.g. sports stadiums, elaborate buildings, and luxury items bearing no relation to increasing capital production.

In some instances Communist aid is preponderantly military, foisted on extreme nationalists more interested in their own international prestige as a big power than with the economic welfare of their peoples. Indonesia with its \$650 million debt to the Soviet Bloc, mostly for military aid, is but one example of a poverty stricken nation completely lacking in capital potential to service such an unproductive loan. Sukarno's irresponsible economic-military collaboration with the Soviets is an attempt on the latter's part to pave the way for eventual takeover by the indigenous Communist Party (PKI) by undermining the economic-political stability of the country to such an extent that drastic measures will have to be taken.

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for a long time our painters did not have any other inspiration but the portraits of Stalin with his pipe or without it, country homes which were decorated luxuriously with innumerable artistic plates or busts of manual workers which were petrified and without expression, posing stereotypically before foundry furnaces.

In this way the Soviet paintings lost the interest of the people.

Is it perhaps that we are lacking good painters? No, certainly not, in the course of the last years we have seen paintings of young and gifted painters, the works of capable sculptors. These include realists and surrealists, expressionists and impressionists, tachists and abstractionists.

We deplore that the Union of Painters continue until now to live and think in the past, and does not want to note the new talents which are appearing in this playyard of young people.

This is inertia and inertia has no future.

The American review Life has rendered unwittingly an enormous service to the Union of Painters. Some years ago it published an article in which it qualified our youngsters as being more gifted than the anti-Soviet painters and those who fought against Communism. Instead of refuting the insidious lies and defending our artistic youth which is proud of its people and is anxious to find new ways, certain leaders of the Union mentioned above seized the article as if it was a weapon which they could fight against the surge of the new.

The characteristic feature of our modern life is that the bureaucrats have lost their real strength and that the march of history does not depend on them any more. Exhibitions of young painters attract more public in the USSR than those who try to place obstacles in the way of their development. For example, during the exhibition of the sculptor Ernst Niesvestniy it was necessary to call the militia in order to re-establish order. There was disorder due to the fact that an unusual number of people tried to see the exhibition in search of new original values. The same occurred during the exhibition of Cuban painting in Moscow. The exhibition is always full of visitors. I must confess that not everybody likes what is exhibited there, but the young people are enthusiastic. This must not fail to be a courageous contribution to our new art.

Dogmatic criticism which we had to endure during many years claimed that abstract painting is a kind of capitalism and that to paint pictures of such types is equivalent to fall in the snares of capitalist ideology. I know personally many of the Cuban painters who were present at the event in Moscow, and I know to what extent they are faithful to their revolutionary ideas. Many of them are abstractionists. Is that logical? And what about Picasso? There is also an authentic citizen and Communist. Has he also fallen into the snares of capitalist ideology? .....

Translation from Russian to Spanish by Maria Rodriguez Iriondo.

Yevtushenko Discusses Art in Havana Periodical  
(Revolucion, 29 November 1960) (Incomplete Text)

The twentieth century is the century in which technics flourish enormously and in which the flourish of cynicism is not less impressive.

Cynicism is the cancer of our modern society. Many specialists in medicine assume that cancer originates in certain microbes, but nobody has discovered these microbes as yet. On the other hand, the microbes which generate cynicism are visible without any need to use a microscope.

These are basically those of the two World Wars, the cruelty of which has never been known in history before and was able to commit crimes which horrify the entire humanity.

The so-called "lost generation" appeared since the First World War. It was an empty generation, devoid of sentiments, because of the mass murders which it witnessed and was unable to avoid. No, it wasn't the blasts of asphyxiating gases which challenged men to combat on the battlefield of those days. They were blasts of cynicism which penetrated into the souls of that generation and decomposed them. After each war they usually prepared lists of the dead. Very well. But who can count how many of the survivors are actually living dead! War, horrible as it is as the arm of a physical murderer is thousand times more horrible as a moral murderer.

Hemingway, with all his realism, is an author who is deeply symbolic. It was not in vain that he was the sad bard of the "lost generation," that he was able to describe in some of his works human beings whom the war made helpless.

To a great extent this implies helplessness which was more moral than physical. And cynicism is in most cases the weapon of self defense of the weak.

However, this cynicism of our twentieth century was engendered by something more than the two wars. Other factors are the generalities of the bloodless "Cold War," the hypocritical falsehood of the venal press, the perfidious empty talk about peace, and atomic tests ordered by the same "eloquent" speakers who make incantations of peace.

This cynicism has been also engendered by those who are indifferent to the destiny of man. Not of the man of other countries, but even of the men in one's own land. Indifferent people, who are concerned only about their own well-being, and who are absolutely ignorant of everything else.

This cynicism has also engendered the small bourgeois ideology, with its false morality according to which the accuser beats himself in the chest with his left hand and does not see how his right hand is grabbing feverishly and eagerly the pot of gold. These elements together have created the "young non-conformists" of England the "beatniks" of the United States.

In spite of all the multiple errors which give them a particular character, the two social phenomena are nothing new. They are plainly a modernized version, and sometimes exaggerated version, of the "lost generation." The "young non-conformists" and the "beatniks" oppose the society, make a mockery of it haughtily and condemn it. But any protest which lacks a positive program remains always passive. What do they actually oppose to cynicism? It is cynicism again.

Romantic Illusion, a fragile and ailing child, wandered over the earth without any home. Hurried and destructive business people trampled over her. Men dealing in periodicals proclaim lies publicly and knock Romantic Illusion about with their elbows. The howling of the "twist" and the ostentation of atomic explosions make it shudder with fear.

There was nothing left to her but to gather atomic mushrooms.

She wanted to die.

But she did not die.

She put her defective feet in the water without hesitation and proceeded to a small island called Cuba.....

It is impossible to be the first without committing errors.

We committed many errors.

It would be absurd to pretend that only Stalin was guilty of all of them, even though he was personally responsible for many of them.

I do not think that Stalin was a cynic who made high-sounding speeches on Communism without believing in it. Stalin had faith in Communism. But he saw in the man simple construction material which could not be set aside to build a future, and he forgot that they were also the future inhabitants of the edifice. He claimed that a great end must always engender inexhaustible energy. He forgot that the means must be worthy of the end. A man without scruples can prejudice the highest goals and make humanity forget him, even if in such a case the end is converted into a means to justify the lack of scruples. How can we explain the death of so many honest men who were slandered unjustly? How can we explain the omission of the most vital necessities of the manual workers and peasants and the mismanagement of public funds in the construction of gigantic monuments and imposing buildings?

How and in what way can we justify the implacable criticism which included the persecution of the best writers, who for the love of their Fatherland refused to paint the reality in rosy colors and to make eulogies out of any proportions in the spirit of lackey to those who granted life as if it was a free candy of Communism?

Communism is the supreme incarnation of truth. Can we reach the truth through lies? The truth shall not turn into another lie. Let us imagine what a titanic strength the Soviet people must have if it is managed to maintain its faith in Communism in spite of all the suffering.

Lenin said on one occasion: "Russia with all her suffering has made herself worthy of Marxism" He referred at that time to the past of Russia. But Russia has deserved of Marxism because of her past and because of the numerous errors committed while the socialist society was being built in her.

I repeat that a great part of what happened was due to the fact that we were the first. Our country resembled to a doctor who has discovered a drug and tested it on himself before he applied it to his patients. The drug might have proved fatal.

Our country did not perish. However, some of the remedies used have produced certain wounds in its body.

That is why it is extremely important for us that all countries which follow our experience select only the good means. That will be the only form by which we can morally justify the errors which we have committed so that the countries which begin their socialist construction would not make the same mistakes.

We do not want that these countries repeat the errors of Italy. Undoubtedly it was with some delay that we have liquidated those errors in our country, and we are making our best efforts to avoid a repetition of such errors.

We do not want that these countries repeat the error of forgetting that in addition to building Communism the people have to eat, wear clothing and live. We are taking steps today to make sure that our people can live well and that those who build Communism are well fed and that their clothing is not worse.

We do not want that these countries repeat the dogmatizing tendencies which we have denounced in our governmental machinery and in the Party.

We are fighting today inexorably to exterminate dogmatism and its favorite creature of bureaucracy.....



Dogmatism and bureaucratism contradict the very essence of the revolution.

That is why the countries where the revolution has been victorious assume a special responsibility.

The inevitable consequence of dogmatism is the evasion of history, which is designed both to embellish history as well as to interpret it tendentiously.

The embellishment or tendentious interpretation of the past imply necessarily embellishment or false interpretation of the present.

That is why we consider it particularly important that Fidel Castro should attack energetically the attempts of the falsifiers who dare to suppress from the legacy of Jose Antonio Maceo certain lines which do not agree with the concepts of the dogmatists.

We do not want that in these countries the same errors are repeated which we have committed in the area of literature.

Important literary work was produced during the years of the cult of personality and beyond that period. However, in general the entire literature is striving to follow artificial courses in order to conceal and cover difficulties and deficiencies. Our people are passing through a period of painful and complicated processes, and our literature, instead of helping the people to understand and to overcome these processes limits itself in most cases to sound its gilded bragging so that we could not hear certain sobs.

These statutes of our Party stipulate that if a Communist sees or discovers an error, he is under obligation to denounce it publicly. This rule is fully valid for literature, if literature is to be an efficient assistant of the Party and of the people.

I saw recently the satirical work of Lisandro Otero. I must recognize that his work contains much of elementary and schematic material, but on the whole this material is highly useful to the revolution. Why? Because by adopting revolutionary positions which are alien to revisionism he criticizes sharply bureaucratism. And that is precisely what must not be set aside so that the spirit of the revolution would not be altered.

"The Literary Moscovite" in its issue of last September 26 included an article of the well-known writer Zlobin in which the author touches partly the problem mentioned above as follows: "When the XXII and XXIII Congresses of our Party liberated our literature of trends and 'obligations' imposed during the period of the cult of Stalin, according to which literary works were considered as realist when they reflected essentially an imaginary idea rather than reality they have provided for the appearance of one of the most important premises for the artistic development of our writers. During the period in question our literature resembled much to the personage in the story of Gogol (The Portrait). The painter Chatkov, trying to satisfy his clients, did not hesitate to eliminate from his portraits any type of wrinkles, defects, unfavorable angles, including even the face itself, however true they may have been..."

Our literature has reached today a stage of unusual power. The Cuban reader is not in a position to appreciate it, because unfortunately the publishing houses print books of such small literary value or no value at all such as *The Floating Little People* of Zakrutin. Who knows? Perhaps it may be useful. It may be a sample of how we should not write.

It is very important that the people of Cuba have the opportunity to learn about the best Soviet writers of prose and poets. We want that the Cuban literature advances firmly and decidedly without repeating our errors of the past.

Also we do not want that the painters of these countries which are building socialism would repeat our errors in the area of fine arts.

Our Fatherland is one of the initiators of the modern art of painting. Russia was the cradle of realist painters but it also saw the birth of Kandinskiy, Malevich, Chagall, Goncharova, in spite of the fact that